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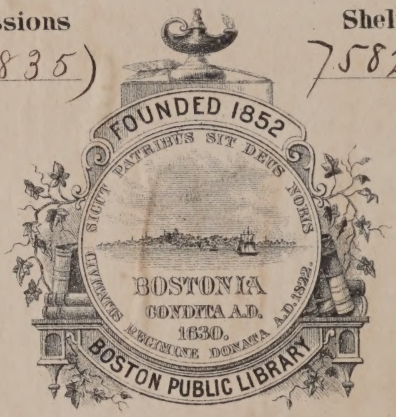

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A PLEA

FOR

THE SOUTH.

BY MASSACHUSETTS JUNIOR.

"Let the United States espouse at once the cause of civil, political and religious liberty in this hemisphere; this will be found the safest issue to go before the world with."

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PUBLISHED BY SYLVANUS P. SEAMAN,

No. 160 WASHINGTON STREET,

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A PLEA FOR THE SOUTH.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE FREE STATES:

FREEDOM is an inborn desire, which exists in the heart of every moving creature; and is exercised in unrestrained indulgence, by all save such as fall under the domination of man. The fishes of the sea dart forth, knowing no abridgement of liberty: the birds cleave the air with unfettered wing: the insect hums his song of freedom, as he pursues his wonted toil: the reptile glides forth at pleasure, and returns to his place of rest in security: the beasts of the forests, both great and small, roam at large,—all, all in the enjoyment of "*life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,*" exposed to no other harms than those of chance. Of all the brute creation, the beast of burden alone is tame and sad. Robbed of his liberty, he forsakes his gambols; the wild grace of his natural gestures gives place to cowardice and fear, which mark his servile movements: his eye, no longer illumined by gleams of pleasure or of daring, becomes unmeaning and dim; and, in the intervals of his labor, his enjoyments are confined to the alternations of food and rest.—The beast of burden is a Slave! and if such be the change, wrought by slavery on him, how much greater the violation done to hature, in reducing man to the same level!

That love of freedom, which in other animals is instinct, becomes in man a moral sentiment, involving the happiness of the human family. Unconnected with the baser passions, it is the foster mother of all the virtues. Coupled with limited authority and directed by wisdom, it is the safeguard of the rights and the promoter of the interests of the weak and the powerless. United with ambition, it lures the unwary from their home-bred happiness. Directed by avarice, it assumes to be a prerogative, and encroaches on the privileges of

others. Associated with avarice, ambition and authority combined, it becomes the greatest of all tyrants, and demands the surrender of rights, on the part of the defenceless, not only to the indulgence of their own wills and desires, but to the protection of their own sacred persons, which are seized and driven forth to toil, exposed to danger, or disposed of for gain with as little regard to their wishes or their comforts as the owner feels for the dumb ox, when he goads him at the plough, or sells him for a price in the market.

When Freedom first descended to bless these United States, she came in all the dignity of single-mindedness, and she was hailed as "lovely and divine." Patriotism took up arms in her defence, and the Virtues enlisted in her cause. Justice presented herself with a poised balance, in which were "EQUAL RIGHTS." Humanity came kneeling and in tears, and dedicated herself to the service of the new-made sovereign, whose pledge was "Liberty for ALL." Mercy took the pledge, and flew on wings of love to record it in the bondman's heart: he, too, worshipped at the shrine of Freedom, and counted upon the day when his fetters should be broken, and himself become a citizen in the "*Land of the Free.*" But Wealth, Power, Avarice and Ambition leagued against the Virtues, while quoting them as patron *Deesses*, and promised eclat to the reign of Freedom. The Virtues attempted to speak for themselves, and promised a course of righteousness and mercy; but they were dismissed with, "*Go thy way for this time, when I have a more convenient season, I will call for thee.*" Thus they, who are the friends of the oppressed, become timid from oft-repeated vanquishments, and retiring from their known unpopularity; and the influence of their examples is found to be less than the potency of their names.

Under the reigning powers a government full of licenses was formed for us, the fair of skin, and we became emphatically "FREE!" while the rigors of our sable brethren were increased. WE are truly in the enjoyment of all the privileges that can be derived from a government of just and impartial laws. WE, the citizens, (in contra-distinction to slaves,) whether born in this or any other country,* are free to enjoy the blessings of Providence, as was Adam in the garden of Eden. And no people on earth were ever more grateful, if a profusion of prayers and thanksgivings, a multiplication of churches, the educating of ministers and the sending of missionaries to the heathen (! ?) be a proof of gratitude; for in these manifestations

* Naturalized Foreigners, and even those who are not naturalized, are allowed to buy and to sell, to work in chains, to whip and to kill men, women and children, born and reared within the United States,—sons and daughter's of FREE AMERICA! and that not always because of the hue of their skin, for I have seen shoulders as delicately fair as those of Albion's own daughters, bared to the lash!

of righteousness, none ever had greater alacrity than we; and yet the very pious *we*, who do all this, deprive millions of our countrymen of every social blessing. Their portion of that liberty, which is the theme of our orators, and the burden of gratitude with our divines, is less than that of the meanest worm that crawles upon the earth. We, in the plenitude of our freedom, torture their bodies with labor, whips and chains. We crush their minds with mental darkness and hopeless servitude. Yet we do not deny that these creatures were formed by the hand of God, and belong to the better portion of his works. We do not deny that they, like ourselves, are endowed with immortal souls; and that their physical and mental organization is replete with the same susceptibilities as those through which we, their merciless oppressors, derive all our pleasures, and suffer all our pains. The more to subdue them to our service, we have made them aliens in the land of their birth:—outlaws, while no crime is laid to their charge. Thus innocent of offence, and while with sweat, and tears, and blood, they accomplish our bidding, we condemn them by our acclamation.—True their skins are darker than our skins, but white as the drifted snow compared to our guilt in their enslavement.

It must be evident to ourselves, and to all the world, that Religion and her attributes, Justice and Mercy, are not the tutelar Divinities of our country.

Upon what merit, then, do we lay our fellowship, our security and our unrivalled prosperity?

We must use that word, '*merit*' very circumspectly, since its application would give us a turn with our wretched bondmen.

We owe somewhat of our prosperity (security and fellowship we have not) to the political sagacity of the fathers of our national independence; but more to the nature of our pursuits, which bring reciprocal advantages; and something is gained to the northern portion of the union, by the countenance which it affords to enterprise, where the utility is less a matter of doubt, than the fitness of the means employed.

That we, the American people, are upholding a system of tyranny the most odious beneath the sun, is true; and that there is a popular influence, on which to lay this colossus among the sins of nations, is equally certain.—This popular, demon influence is avarice, or INSATIABLE DESIRE OF WEALTH, and MEANS are its catarers. Among the variety employed by its panders, the most unsightly, the most appalling, the most heart-sickening is Slavery!

Does the South recoil at this uncleanly apparation? Then let her call upon the general government to assist in putting away the abomination. Does the North exclaim, "Our nostrils are offended with the putrid odors of slavery!" Then let her coffers be emptied

of their blood-stained treasures, that the cruel system may be broken up, and the moral atmosphere of the Republic be rendered sane and healthy.

In the Free States Pride dwells with Avarice, and she prattles against slavery. She has a great regard for the reputation of the Union, and is free in expressions of disapprobation of the institution: but when Sympathy would touch the public conscience, she thrusts Avarice, that thing of adamant, between. She has brought disgrace on Sympathy, calling her "Infidel," and shutting her out of the churches. Sympathy, however, is of divine origin, and neither bows the head nor bends the knee to Pride, but watchful and faithful she finds the way to many a worthy heart.

A regard for the moral and religious character of the Free States, has led to an almost general declaration of anti-slavery principles, based on——*conservative privileges!*

But we cannot so impose upon the world; and even though we might, we should act from a better principle, from a loftier motive than the evasion of a world's censure. We should aim to become altogether such as we would wish to appear.

It is not that there is nothing among us to commend, that we are suffering contempt and reproach; it is because of our peculiar transgression, which is known to be full of sins of the blackest dye, that our characters are touched with a darkening tinge. It avails us very little, among other nations, that we are moral and religious that we give to every man, in our own free states his due, so long as we hold the key to the southern bondman's chains. It avails us nothing that we did not forge the links, since it was we who secured the rivet. We are not counted the less criminal, because we do not lay on the stripes, seeing we take the gain.

Allow me to course down the public sentiment in regard to slavery, since 1774, even to the present time, and I shall make it appear that it was not the fault of the South alone, that slavery was not abolished at an early period of our national existence. I shall also endeavour to show that the power to arrest an evil, which has become of such magnitude as not only to threaten the vital interests of the Southern population, but bids fair to involve the whole country in anarchy and wars, lies solely and entirely in the Free States.

Unaided by the General Government, the slaveholders have less power to exterminate slavery than have the slaves themselves. There is a remedy for the latter, which is gaining in efficacy, while the strength of the former is diminishing in an equal ratio. That the most eminent statesmen of the South, had a foreboding of this unhappy crisis, is evident from the anxiety manifested by them, on the subject of slavery, during our struggle for independence; and from

their tone of disappointment, when the affairs of the nation became finally settled. The resolutions adopted by the first congress, which assembled in 1774, where sufficiently explicit on the subject of negro emancipation to give the general impression that FREEDOM, as a moral and religious principle, and not as a matter of mere convenience, was sought by that august assembly. As a prelude to the abolition of slavery within the territories, an agreement, which contained the following clause, was signed by the delegates of all the represented Colonies: "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the Slave Trade; and neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who may be concerned in it."

The memorable conduct of the, then, noble and proud Virginia, the leading member of the Southern confederacy, was worthy of all admiration. She abolished the slave trade by a solemn act of Legislation; and her example was followed by nearly all the States. She united, with fervency, in the Declaration of Independence, which promulgated the doctrine of "Equal Rights." Without one selfish consideration, she yielded her exclusive claim to her Western Territory, with no other stipulation than that it should be disposed of for the public good, and finally be erected into Republican States. Doubtless, Virginia then saw, in perspective, a state of universal freedom; and believed that the beating of her own heart was the impulse of the entire union. The other states of the South uttered not a dissenting voice:—all were ready to approve, and to imitate the example of their beloved Virginia, believing that the day of their deliverance was at hand, not only from the control of a foreign country, but from the thraldom of an institution which was contrary to the word of God, and to the spirit of justice and humanity. It is affecting to read the debates of that day, when men's hearts were filled with zeal in the cause of Liberty, and warmed with love for the oppressed: when freedom was meditated, not for one class, only, but for ALL within the limits of their anticipated jurisdiction. But the tenderness of feeling, manifested at that period, has nearly become extinct in the North by the engrossing influence of an unexampled prosperity; and in the South by the cares, perplexities, embarassments and heart-hardening tendency of slavery itself.

The early design of the Fathers of our Independence evidently was that the slaves should be set free by legislative enactments in the different states, in order that each state might have the entire control of its own means and facilities; but they doubtless supposed that the General Government would provide for a compensation, where compensation was needed; give protection where there might be

danger from the lawlessness of newly emancipated multitudes; and to assist in disposing of them, or in training them from a state of vassalage to that of freemen. But the first of these considerations being a delicate subject for southerners to introduce, they waited for propositions from those less immediately interested, but equally responsible with themselves. But on this subject, the North, through inadvertence or by design, maintained a profound silence. The great straits to which the country had become reduced by the expenses of the war, the discontinuance of commerce, and the cessation of industrial enterprise generally,—these, or some causes, less excusable, sealed the lips of those who should have been the first to advocate the cause of a final emancipation, at whatever cost to the country. We would preserve our respect for the memory of our ancestors by believing that they did intend, when the state of the public finances should permit, to have the matter discussed and settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

From the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, to the adoption of the Constitution, in 1789, a considerable change had taken place in the public mind,—a change that seldom fails to follow a successful enterprise of great magnitude, viz: self-appreciation for self-distrust; and disregard for the less fortunate in place of sympathy for their sufferings and a due sense of their rights.

For some time before the Constitution was framed, the southern members of Congress had become less sanguine in the belief that the liberation of *their* slaves would become a part of the national reform, unless, indeed, emancipation should be unconditionally precipitated upon them, without regard to the sufferings which must inevitably follow; and they began to feel the necessity of securing to themselves unlimited control over an incumbrance, from which there appeared to be no relief; and to look for emancipation, if indeed it came at all, as a gradual work of time, or more probably a successful effort for freedom on the part of the slaves themselves. Thus filled with anxieties, which should have united them in a bold renunciation of slavery, they yielded to the pressing necessity of the times; and instead of a code of laws which should guaranty to every man the "Inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as set forth in their Declaration of Independence, they were compelled by the spirit of avarice, which had arisen, like the fabled Phœnix, from its ashes, to succumb to an instrument, which virtually says: *The foreign traffic in the bodies of men may cease after such a day and date; but the domestic policy of the Southern States, in regard to slavery as it now exists, needs no alteration.*

It it attempted to be proved that the Constitution of the United States is decidely anti-slavery, because no such terms as "slave,

slavery, slave trade, slaveholder," or "man-selling," are found in it. Nevertheless, it was designed as a proslavery instrument, while the blush of inconsistency was spared, and the sting of public conscience rendered less acute by substituting,

Clause I, Sec. IX, Art. I.

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

FOR

The slave trade may continue in full operation, and shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; and a duty not exceeding ten dollars shall be laid on each slave so imported, for the use of the treasury of the United States.

Again [Clause 3, Sec. II, Art. IV.]

"No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into an other, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

FOR

No slave held in bondage in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, become a free man, but he shall be delivered up on claim of his owner.

Again [Section IV, Art. IV.]

"The United States shall guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

FOR

The United States shall guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of government (nevertheless, the African slaves and their descendents shall not be partakers of the benefits thereof,) and shall protect them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (in cases of emergency) against Slave-insurrection.

Upon what principle of candor did the Congress of the United States, in a code designed for their own internal government, and for the regulations of which they were amenable to no power on earth, word every passage, relating to slavery, in so equivocal a manner? Did they believe that they were deceiving the world by so shallow an artifice? or did they suppose that the hateful decrees, thus disguised, would less conflict with the otherwise liberal tenor of the Constitution, then would they, clothed in the language of common parlance?

While contemplating with amazement this new proof of human weakness and inconsistency, let us remember that the Constitution

was but the work of Man; and as such, worthy of high commendation, its general tone being of the most unexceptional character; and providing, as it does, for its own amendment, it cannot be considered sacrilege to take from it, or neutralize those clauses which are an offence to every true-hearted American, whenever the National Assembly shall agree to have no further use for them. With what regret must the spirits of those otherwise just men, who framed that instrument, look down upon the work of their hands!—With what joy would those spirits commune, were they to behold from above, the Constitution of the United States purified from the evidences of their cupidity, and left only as a monument of their wisdom!

The Constitution, in its proslavery character, was not adopted without many heart-burnings, particularly among the Southern delegates, and the expression of their feeling became that of disappointment and chagrin; for although the Constitution did allow of the abolition of slavery in all the States, it had made no provision for the exigencies, which must necessarily attend emancipation in some of them; while the government had been careful to relieve itself from all responsibility through Article X of the Amendments, which says, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Luther Martin, of Maryland, left the Convention for framing the Constitution before the instrument was finally completed. He had opposed its adoption, and assigned as his reason for so doing, that it "Contained no direct provision against slavery. That while it gave the General Government full and absolute power to regulate commerce, it had excepted from the exercise of that power the only branch of commerce which is unjustifiable in its nature, and contrary to the rights of mankind. That we ought rather to prohibit expressly in our Constitution, the further importation of slaves, and to authorize the General Government, from time to time, to make such regulations as should be thought most advantageous for the gradual abolition of slavery, and the emancipation of the slaves already in the states."

In the Ratification Convention of North Carolina, Mr. Iredell, (afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States,) observed, "When the entire abolition of slavery takes place, it will be an event which must be pleasing to every generous mind, and every friend of human nature."

Mr. Jefferson in his notes on Virginia, had said, "I think a change already perceptible. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave is rising from the dust; his condition is being mollified, and the way, I hope, is preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation; and that it is disposed in the order of events, to

be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation."

There is something foreboding in the last sentiment. Would that Jefferson could have infused his own principles into the hearts of all his countrymen. Then would the danger 'ere now have been passed, and we, indeed, have become a FREE PEOPLE.

Said Washington, "I never, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, mean to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

Again he says, "There is only one effectual mode by which the abolition of slavery can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; (doubtless having reference to the General Legislature,) and that as far as my suffrage will go shall not be wanting."

William Pinkney, indignantly said, "Wherefore should we confine the edge of censure to our ancestors, or to those from whom they purchased? Are we not equally guilty? *They* strewed around the seeds of slavery,—*we* cherish and sustain the growth. *They* introduced the system,—*we* enlarge, invigorate and confirm it. * * * * * By the eternal principles of justice, no master in this state has a right to hold his slave a single hour."

Says Patrick Henry, "We owe it to the purity of our religion to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery."

Says Madison, "It was wrong to admit into the Constitution, *even in idea*, that there could be property in man."

Nor did the true patriots of the South desist from their remonstrances against everything that favored the cause of slavery, while there was any prospect of its immediate abolition; nor did they despair of ultimately attaining their object until convinced that no action would be taken by the government for its accomplishment:—and even then the forlorn hope of a final emancipation did not forsake them. General Lee, in his "Memoirs of the Revolutionary War," indulges in this soliloquy, half encouraging, half reproachful, "The Constitution of the United States, adopted lately with so much difficulty, has effectually provided against the slave-trade after a few years. It is much to be lamented, that having done so much in this way, a provision had not been made for the gradual abolition of slavery."

In the course of a debate in the congress of 1789, (the first under the Constitution,) on a petition against the continuance of the slave trade, Mr. Parker, of Virginia, remarked with much emphasis, that he hoped Congress would do all that lay in their power to restore human nature to its inherent privileges, and to wipe off the stigma under which America labored. "The inconsistency in our principles," said he, "should be done away, that we may show by our

actions the pure beneficence of the doctrine, which we held out to the world in our Declaration of Independence."

Judge Tucker, of Virginia, in a letter to the General Assembly of that State, in 1796, recommending the abolition of slavery, and speaking of the slaves of Virginia, said, "Should we not, at the time of the Revolution, have loosed their chains and broken their fetters? or if the difficulties and dangers of such an experiment prohibited the attempt during the convulsions of a revolution, is it not our duty to embrace the first moment of constitutional health and vigor to effectuate so desirable an object, and to remove from us a stigma, with which our enemies will never fail to upbraid, nor our consciences to reproach us?"

Passages similar to the above might be quoted to fill a volume, all pervaded with an air of the same wounded feeling; but, I have quoted enough to show that the South were compelled to feel that no portion of their peculiar troubles were to be made lighter by the achievement of the National Independence; but that frequent accessions to their already insupportable load were allowed to be made for a series of ensuing years; and that the avarice of a great number of their fellow citizens, would tempt them to the full exercise of the inhuman privilege.—No wonder that Jefferson should exclaim, in the bitterness of his soul, "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever!"

The philanthropists of the North took a less desponding view of the continuance of slavery and the slave trade, than did their brethern of the South. Some of their most eminent men coincided, but with less fervor, in Southern sentiments; but they generally contented themselves with the sure prospect of deliverance from slavery within the limits of the Northern and Middle States, in which the number of slaves was comparatively few; and where the climate was in nowise adapted to their African constitutions, and the soil unproductive in those articles which could make slave labor profitable. And from the slow *natural* increase of their colored population, they had imbibed the impression that slavery, in the Southern States, where the constitution must be soon broken down by excessive labor, would be continued only by fresh importations from Africa; and they plead in extenuation of the crime of continuing the slave trade, the necessity of giving employment to their merchantmen,* and of increasing

* It has been asserted that the slave trade was conducted with unparalleled vigor between the years of 1789 and 1808, and that too in Northern vessels, manned by Northern seamen. At the same time, sermons were preached, and addresses put forth, denouncing slavery and the slave trade; and public appeals to Heaven in behalf of the oppressed bondmen were of daily occurrence.

The voice of prayer for the liberation of the slave must have contrasted strangely with the "Yo-heave-oh!" of the departing slave ship.

the revenue of their deeply embarrassed country. They were infatuated with the notion that the institution of slavery, if confined to the Free States, in which it then existed, would, when no longer replenished from abroad, become extinct, without expense or detriment to any portion of the country. But it is most probable that they did not look, with a great degree of solicitude, beyond the expiration of the term limited to the slave trade; and that they contemplated the "forever-after" as a season of self approbation, and of political and domestic morality and justice.

Our revolutionary fathers, who were a set of worthy, and, to a great extent, an intellectual class of men, had, like some of us, their descendants, an easier way of arriving at a conclusion than that of examining the premises, and never dreamed of the untoward consequences which must naturally grow out of a continuance of the slave trade, which was transplanting, from Africa, the elements of strife into a climate, soil and situation favorable to their growth. The condition of slavery has more than once been found favorable to the natural increase of the enslaved. In the first chapter of Exodous we find an account of a people demanding release from a bondage, which this of America seems destined to surpass, both in the numbers of the enslaved, and in the atrocity of the system; yet the similarity of the two cases are, in some respects, too obvious to escape a general notice.

It has been said that the National Legislature, by continuing the slave trade, lured the slaveholders to invest property in men. The truth of this assertion is self-evident, and the consequences to the slave holders are precisely such as might have been expected to men, who were so far forgetful of their own dignity, as to bend the shoulder and become burden-bearers of a political sin.

We will now turn with feelings of admiration to "THE TIMES THAT TRIED MEN'S SOULS." Our immediate and worthy ancestors, filled with a lively sense of the injustice of the mother country in withholding from them certain privileges, which they considered due to them as citizens and as men, and in laying upon them burdens which could not be submitted to without degradation; and realizing that their own isolation, and the hardships endured by their forefathers, the early pioneers of a wilderness, entitled them to a higher consideration than that of vassals to a foreign crown, did, after much deliberation, but without the aid, without the countenance of a single nation upon earth, set about the work of a political revolution:—not from motives of retaliation, not from an overweening spirit; but under a sense of the defference due to their enterprise and their mag-

namity, and that they might leave to their children an inheritance of free institutions and a liberal policy of government, did they engage in a struggle, both dangerous and doubtful.

There was no hypocricy in their Declaration of Independence. It was a warm ebulition from the hearts of men, desirous of enjoying and of diffusing the blessings of liberty, and a spirit of enthusiasm was kindled from Maine to Georgia.—Even the poor slaves, believing that they, too, were to be benefitted by the emancipation of the colonies from the government, under the sanction of which they had been deprived of *their* liberty, and reduced to the anomalous state of speaking chattels, were true to the cause of the country (alas! not theirs,) and to the interests of their masters. Impressed with the idea that they were held in bondage through British power and influence, they viewed the armies of Britain as the worst of enemies; otherwise they might have turned the scale of the revolution: but no, their confidence was full and entire in the justness of the cause, never doubting for a moment that their own personal freedom depended on the success of the American arms. With a self devotion worthy of eternal consideration, they hung upon the fortunes of their masters, whose hearts were warmed towards them; and whose secret vows for their restoration to the rights of humanity are recorded in that Book, which will be opened when we are all called upon to settle our final accounts.

The Preamble to the Abolition Act of Pennsylvania, in 1780, shows, with more or less intensity, the state of the public mind in regard to the slave portion of the suffering community. It says, "Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow predjudices and partialities, which we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations; and we conceive ourselves to be, at this particular period, called upon, in an extraordinary manner by the blessings we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our professions, and to give substantial proof of our gratitude." These generous, just, and humane sentiments, were fostered in every part of the country; but nowhere with more sincerity and warmth than in the now reckless, and Heaven-defying South.

The WAR ended, the prospects of America brightened. Prosperity had crowned their efforts,—not in the cause of Freedom, but in incontrovertible independence of foreign control; and that dependence on Divine Providence, which had sustained the public mind during the struggles of the revolution, and which never fails to open the eyes of the understanding to the just claims of others, was now exchanged for worldly wisdom and self-reliance.

The pecuniary embarrasments of the country demanded immediate

attention, and the low state of the public finances, the clamor of creditors, and the dilapidated state into which every branch of commerce and home industry had fallen, withdrew a portion of the public mind from the cause of humanity to the cause of mammon. The Independence of the Nation achieved, the work of maintainance must begin. First, provision must be made for the liquidation of the National debt, and for the increasing expenses of the new govenment. Next the general spirit of enterprise must be gratified in the multiplication of private resources; and on a cool consideration of expediency, it was thought justifiable to abridge the "rights" *of some men* "to liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It was not even necessary to say *who* should be the *victim!*—But where could the sacrifice most advantageously, and with the least show of injustice be made?—Not in the North, where the piety of our forefathers was left as a legacy, in trust, for the benefit of their children. Not in the Middle States, where the descendents of Penn and Stuyvesant held to the doctrine that "Justice to man was a duty to God."—But the South! aye, the South, with a genial climate, a fertile soil, and a goodly number of operatives, inured to unrequited labor.—And the Southern planters, slave-holders by profession, of course, not under the influence of religion and morality :—surely, it is their duty to acquiesce in so convenient a measure for the general benefit.—And then it is but for a little while,—and domestic slavery *die out*, leaving them nothing to do but to repent of their sins and enjoy the blessings of a FREE GOVERNMENT.

Well, the South, wholly aware of the consequences, disregarded the counsel of her wise men, and looking only to the prospect of immediate and large gains, became reconciled to the unnamed, but perfectly understood arrangement; and thus compromised *her* portion of her country's birthright,—free institutions, for the unsavory pottage of slavery; since which time, it has been in vain for her, when contemplating the prosperity of the North, that she has cried to God, "Bless me, *even me also*, O! my Father."

From the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the Southern feeling became changed towards the North. The warm and cordial love with which her citizens had been wont to regard their Northern neighbors, was now changed to coldness and distrust. They became petulant and overbearing; insensible to pity, and regardless of the opinions of the world; and their poor, helpless slaves, who had looked forward to a brighter day, were made the victims of their ire; and inconsistency of principle was never carried to a greater length than in their impatience of contradiction and their defiance of human control, compared with their treatment of their slaves, of whose privileges the following extracts from the laws of the several

States will give an idea that shonld be sufficient to call forth, not only the indignation of an outraged humanity, but immediate and effectual measures for their relief.

Southern Deffinition of the term "Slave."

"A Slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor. He can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything that does not belong to his master."—*Civil Code of Louisiana.*

The codes of the other States define the word "slave" in a similar manner. Thus under covert of Article X. of the Amendments of the Constitution of the American Republic, a confederation that has turned mountains of powder into smoke, in celebrating the anniversaries of its independence, and wasted volumes of breath in bombast on account of its freedom, laws are in force, by which a man of certain caste, may take his less fortunate neighbour and reduce him to the condition described in the above definition of the word "slave."

LAWS OF THE SLAVE STATES.

"Slaves shall always be reputed and considered as real estate, and shall be, as such, subjected to be mortgaged, according to the rules prescribed by law; and they shall be seized and sold as real estate."—*Law of Louisiana.*

"Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken and reputed, in law, to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, TO ALL INTENTS, CONSTRUCTIONS, AND PURPOSES WHATEVER."—*Law of South Carolina.*

"In the trial of slaves, the Sheriff chooses the Court, which must consist of three Justices, and twelve slaveholders, to serve as jurors."—*Law of Tennessee.*

"Any emancipated slave remaining in the State more than a year, may be sold by the *Overseers of the Poor*, for the benefit of the "Literary Fund." "Any slave or free colored person, found at any school for teaching reading or writing, by day or by night, may be whipped at the discretion of a Justice, not exceeding twenty lashes."—*Laws of Virginia.*

"Penalty for any slave, or free colored person exercising the functions of a minister of the gospel, THIRTY-NINE lashes." "Penalty for teaching a slave to read, imprisonment for one year." "Every negro or mulatto, found in the State, not able to show himself entitled to freedom, may be sold as a slave."—*Laws of Mississippi.*

"For attempting to teach any free colored person or slave to spell, read or write, a fine of not less than two hundred and fifty, nor more than five hundred dollars."—*Law of Alabama.*

"Any person who sees more than seven slaves without a white

person, in a high road, may whip each slave twenty lashes." "Every colored person is presumed to be a slave unless he can prove himself free."—*Laws of Georgia.*

"*Every colored person is presumed to be a slave unless he can prove himself free.*"—In virtue of this law, which prevails in all the slave States, colored persons, and sometimes, perhaps, dark complexioned white persons, who cannot give immediate and satisfactory references, are incarcerated in the public jails, and bid to prove that they are free men. Now, it is impossible for them, locked up in jails, to procure evidence of their freedom. So they are kept awhile, and then sold to pay their *jail fees*, which the Marshal and Jailor can fix as high as they please; and although they are nominally sold for a *time* to pay the debt thus incurred, no further interest is taken in them, and they are generally resold before the expiration of the term of their service, and thus become slaves for life.

I have not learned that there are any laws which annul the marriage covenant of slaves, I therefore quote Judge Matthews of Lousiana, as authority for the general usage. "With the consent of their masters, slaves may marry, and their moral power to agree to such a connection as that of marriage cannot be doubted, but whilst in a state of slavery, it cannot produce any civil effect, because the slaves are deprived of all civil rights."—*Martin's Rep. VI.*, 550.

It would be easy to give examples of the "tender mercies" of the slaveholders, under sanction of such laws as the above, but having seen, in too many instances, the unwillingness and disgust, with which the free community listen to details of the sufferings of the slaves, I have hope of better success from an appeal to their understanding than from an attack upon their passions. Yet they will allow me in the following little incident, to touch a sympathy, which, although implanted in youth, reserves its full fruition for the close of life.

I once remained for a few weeks at a hotel in the State of Tennessee. Being in delicate health, my intercourse with the family came to be on the most familiar terms; and a room was assigned me in the immediate vicinity of the nursery, of which an aged black woman seemed to be the superintendant. She was usually sad, and peculiar from a habit of extempore singing. Late in the night, I could hear her rocking to and fro, and uttering her piteous plaint, now in the tone of song, now in the voice of prayer, and often with sighs and sobs.

The nightly repetition of this mournful serenade at last induced me to ask the mistress the cause of the grief of her aged slave; and

I learned that she had belonged to a planter in Virginia, the father of her present lady. Early in life she married, or took, without ceremony, as her husband, a worthy fellow-slave, with whom she cohabited until the death of her master; when, with the other property, the slaves were divided among the heirs of the estate, she falling to her present owner, and her husband to another branch of the family. She had been a valuable and trusty servant, and now, notwithstanding her age and infirmities, was a faithful nurse. "But why does she mourn so?" I asked. "Oh," said her mistress, "it is because she cannot see her husband. He was old and lame, and it did not belong to us to take care of him, and so he was left. But she is of use to me, and I indulge her in all her ways; yet it does seem that she will not try to be happy—she is so unreasonable!" I thought otherwise.

With permission, I afterwards became a visitant of the nursery, and sometimes attempted to comfort the poor old negress, whom I often found singing. "Oh! Tazzo, oldy man, no see um Suk-e-e! Ah! Tazzo, goody man, too old to work-e-e! Who comb him wooly head? Who wash um foot-e-e? Who cook um homin-e-e? Who mend um clothes-e-e?" "Tell me, aunty," said I, "who you are singing about?" "Oh dear," said she, "it is my poor ole husband, my poor ole man!" and then she wailed and sang, "Poor Tazzo, oldy man, left all alone-e-e!" I enquired if she had left no children to console him? "No," she replied, in a voice so sharp that I feared she was about to strike me, "Ole massa sole um all, dat's what he raise um for—(rocks and sings, with tears fast falling) "Who care for chillun now?"—All gone-e! gone-e!" This poor creature had given up her children, without knowing the pleasures of a mother's love. She had never considered them as her own, nor suffered her affections to twine about them. But her poor husband, with whom she had travelled through a long life of servitude, had become the sole object of her solicitude; and she declared to me, that she *would not live*, if they did not let her go home, and "comfort de poor ole man."

There is a mutual kindness and childlike love between two aged people under the ordinary circumstances of husband and wife: but with the slaves, in the unusual privileges of growing old together, their youthful tenderness ripens into an all-absorbing devotion. Negroes are naturally affectionate creatures, and in advanced age kindness predominates over all other feelings, even towards those who have treated them roughly.

Whenever I think of that poor old negress, her husband, lame and lonely, is also present to my view. They will see each other no more, on earth; but may they again be united in that world,

where the fetters of bondage are unknown; and where they may realize for their offspring that regard, which the base traffic in human flesh has denied them here.

Avarice had become the ruling passion of the slaveholders, while prodigality marked all their steps. The former exacted labor to the uttermost extremity of the slaves, while the latter allowed neither means for their comfort, nor a provision to be made for their emancipation. Prodigious were the sums paid into Southern coffers for the product of slave labor, but only to be extracted therefrom by Northern enterprise. The merchants of the Northern and Middle States made the most valuable importations for the Southern market, from which the mechanic, the artisan, and the manufacturer, also realized a premium on the profits of their labor. It was thus that the slave-trodden soil of the South became the Ophir of the Republic.

In consideration of the vast benefits to the *Free* States arising from the extravagant expenditures of the slaveholders, a spirit of forbearance was manifested toward them under some very trying exactions and assumptions of control in the affairs of the General Government, until the South, having become the political pet of the Union, found herself not only able to coerce the North into the most eccentric public measures, but regaled without stint on the loaves and fishes of office. True, the Northern office seekers complained, and the Northern politician often found himself brow-beaten; but it is no easy matter to recover an influence, once compromised, and so the North now finds it; but unwilling to come to an open rupture, she wisely maintains a spirit of forbearance, which the South, heedless of the consequences to herself, seems trying to provoke by constant violations of the compact which should equalize the privileges of the citizens of the different States.

I do not remark upon this inequality of power and privileges, from feelings of envy, or by way of crimination, for we cannot be jealous of the privileges of so unfortunate a people; nor should we indulge in censure upon that portion of their conduct which is their only relief among unhappy alternatives. But it is well to lay bare the cause of the preferences conceded to the South in all public concerns of honor or profit. I once asked of a Northern Representative the question of their right to so great a monopoly? His answer was, "They *will* carve for themselves, therefore it is not strange that they should take the lion's share." "But, by whose grant did the 'will' become authority to make these unequal divisions?" "By grant of their necessities, and in virtue of their own qualifications," he replied, "and too much has been said, and too

many wrong impressions given concerning Southern usurpation of political power:—for why should we, of the North, complain, after having given them a monopoly of office for a monopoly of trade, the latter being worth about 1400 per cent. per annum more than the former; and while we have been studying the leger, the slaveholders have become adepts in the science of government:—so much so that their superior qualifications as statesmen, are not doubted even by their enemies." I hinted to him that I thought he must have been led into a very unwilling appreciation of the talents of men who were exercising a dictatorial supervision over the interests of the North, while they offered rewards for the heads of any, who might dare to speak against their own "*Peculiar Institutions.*" "True," said he, "we have allowed them to gain an eminence of power and authority, against which it is treason to speak; while we are called upon with an authority, truly ludicrous, to bend the knee and buckle on the armor to strengthen their position!"

This gentleman betrayed a fair sample of the fluctuation of Northern feeling towards the Southerners,—one moment complaining of their selfishness, the next admitting all their claims; then disgust at their usurpation of authority and disregard of courtesy is followed by admiration of their talents, and a plea for their arrogance; while the concluding reflection are not always such as to give a man a favorable opinion of his own dignity, or of his social and political consequence.

The internal government of the Southern portion of this self-styled republic, is a slave-made olligarchy, depending for support, on unrequited vassal labor; and for protection on the resources of the General Government, for the appropriation of which the Constitution thereof has made ample provision, Their manner of living is peculiar to that of tyrants in general, profuse and limited only by their means. Their moral principles are a compound of whatever we have been taught to admire in the chivalrous traits arising from the feudal system, with too much of what even our perverted natures condemn in the open injustice of a Cortez and a Pizzaro, and in the secret cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition: and their moral conduct is the genuine offspring of their principles.

It is not true, as *many* suppose, that there is no sympathy in the breast of the master for his poor suffering slave. It is not true, as *some* affirm, that they are generally treated with kindness, and are content with their condition. Sympathy, there is indeed; and Pity, that God-like child of Heaven; and self-reproach, that sting of wounded conscience: and burning shame, that attendant on a re-

putation soiled. These would soften the rigors of the bondman's lot, did not interest and personal safety forbid. Pity the condition of the slave; withhold the whip from his trembling limbs; let him feel your Sympathy, and be comforted by your generosity, (only retaining him as a chattel slave,) and he assumes the man! Freedom starts up before him, with only you between: it is enticing and lovely; he is strengthened by your kindness to make an effort for the prize:—he darts through your vitals, and shouts the pæan of LIBERTY!

It requires a heavy load of oppression to reconcile a man to the loss of his personal freedom, and to the rule of another over the destinies of his wife and children, of whom the God of nature has appointed him the rightful protector and defender: deep must be the bruises in his flesh; crushed must be his spirit, 'ere he can be made to labor on, without an effort for their emancipation and his own.

Cruelty is not, as has been represented, the pastime of the slaveholder; it is his policy of insurance for the diligence and non-resistance of his slave.——And how does that government stand in the sight of Almighty God?—In view of his wondering angels?—In the esteem of more liberal nations?—in the balance of common justice?—in the account of Humanity?—and in the regards of Decency?—which throws around an institution, requiring for its safety such an amount of barbarity, the protecting arms of its power!—or withholds the means to purchase, if purchase be necessary, the freedom and disenthralment of a portion of its citizens, suffering cruelties, to which no parallel can be found in the records of the world!

The slaveholders do not, as they would have it believed, live without fear, and revel in security. Retribution haunts them by day; stalks through their vigils at night, and disquiets their dreams. Their trials are as far beyond the power of our affluent Northern citizens to conceive, as are the sufferings of the brutalized, unpaid slave beyond the comprehension of the free laborer, who toils through the day, or only until he is weary, then, fearless of blame, returns to the covert of his domestic security, and shares the product of his labor with his wife, whom the laws allow him to protect, and the children, who are not liable to be snatched from his care by other foes than death.

As if to punish the injustice of robbing men of their liberty, every addition to that source of gain augments the dangers to be feared from rebellion. The slaves of the United States have already become too numerous, and too well instructed in their rights to be contemplated without dread. Their frequent attempts at insurrection, although unsuccessful, have furnished them with a great amount of general knowledge, in relation to the resources, the apprehensions

and the constant watchfulness of their enemies. They have become convinced of the impossibility of rising *en masse* and striking a decisive blow. They know that a warfare must ensue, in which they will sometimes be vanquished, and sometimes victorious. They are aware that enemies may be found appoaching them as friends, and that traitors will not be wanting of their own color. The have become cautious in their communications with strangers; yet they have facilities for obtaining information, and for private discussions, of which no vigilance is able to deprive them. Many, even on the plantations, can both read and write; but how they have become possessed of those acquirements is a marvel to all but themselves. Perhaps the short journeys, which they contrive to make in the night-time, are to places where knowledge lies concealed. The hour of darkness is their time to be abroad. If they escape detection and punishment it is well; if otherwise they are not deterred, since no infliction can subdue the propensity, and so adroit are they in their movements, that the keenest eye cannot always determine their identity. I have, from my window, seen them glide through the gardens and porticos, when the stillness of the night should have revealed the dropping of the dew, and not the slightest sound be heard; and no evidence of their presence given, save the glimpse of some darksome apparition. To timorous and superstitious persons, they often give cause of alarm, their presence being suspected in the motion of every leaf, and their appearance ominous of evil. Their ear is quick, their sight keen, their tread light, and their movements deceptive. The slightest stir of an enemy is instantly felt, and they vanish from sight like spectral illusions.

However much the feeling may attempt concealment, the slaves are objects of terror to all, but more especially so to women and children. The desperate resolves, which cause men to go armed; nerve them with a constant readiness to meet danger; and like soldiers prepared for battle in defence of all that is dear, they never suffer their courage to flinch, nor their self-command to be subdued by apprehensions. It is only when the mind and the body, wearied alike, would sink into ropose, that fitful dreams bring tremors to the heart and moisture to the brow. 'T is then the wife, and child are grasped, with trembling hand,—and God is praised!

Who, that has compassion, would be a tyrant and a terror to his fellow-men?—Who, that has an earthly tie, can feel secure, while revenge, deep, fierce and foul, burns in the hearts of his own household slaves?

Children love their nurses, who slily tell them tales of insurrections, and thus they learn to fear them. Ladies become attached to faithful servants; but knowing the injuries sustained by the race to

which they belong, confidence gives place to distrust, and reliance to dread. Men have slaves who would die in their defence against a stranger, but who would be the first to slay them were their own personal freedom to be the reward.

I have noticed that very old negroes were averse to insurrectionary movements, since age brings to them a season of indulgence and a certainty of support. And here, to the credit of the slaveholder, be it spoken, that the aged slaves are kindly cared for. True, this kindness comes too late to confer any lasting good; but it comes when hope and expectation have no longer a future on earth; and the present, being all that is left of time, receives kindness with that full measure of enjoyment, which lends to the garrulity of age the interest of prattling infancy; a pleasing loquacity and buoyancy of spirit being as sure indications of kind usage in extreme age as in early childhood. It has often been amusing to me to hear an old, grey-headed negro (rejoicing in the privilege,) scold "massa" and "missus," while "massa" and "missus" would only wink and smile, or give some trifle by way of peace offering.

I have sometimes thought that the situation of those superannuated slaves, contrasted favorably with the condition of many aged fathers and mothers of fairer complexion, who sit in melancholy stupor by the firesides of their own sons and daughters.

The sinful presumption of our government in retaining men as chattels, has recoiled upon the immediate agents in a way to involve them in a variety of embarrasments, from which it is impossible for them to be extricated but by an entire change, which it is the duty of said government to assist them in making in a portion of their domestic economy. Were every other obstacle in the way of emancipation removed, the pecuniary entanglements of the South are so connected with slavery that the slaveholders have not the *right* to abolish it at will. The practice of raising money by mortgage on slaves has raised an almost insurmountable impediment to their liberation, unless a considerable compensation is made to their owners; for while under mortgage, they are not at the disposal of those, in whose possession they are found, except it be to make sale of them, in order to meet their own liabilities. I have known plantations with every slave upon them to be under mortgage at the same time. In cases like these, what are the home creditors, generally banks, to do? and what are the merchants to do, who supply the slaveholders with goods, on one, two, three, and four year's credit, to be paid, at last, out of the avails of slave labor? and what are our Northern merchants to do, who furnish those goods on credit.

In a statement, which I have lately examined of the commercial relations between the North and the South, I find the following item, under date of 1844. "The loss since 1815, which the North has sustained in commercial intercourse with the South, or slaveholding States, cannot be less than fifteen millions a year. New York city has, this day, *bad debts* against Southern traders to the amount of one hundred millions of dollars; debts contracted since the close of the last war. They have also ten millions more in MORTGAGES ON SLAVES!"

If the above statistics be correct, which I doubt not, what must be the entire amount due from the South to the North at this time, all of which must become "bad debts," in case of unaided emancipation!

The merchants are among the most wealthy and influential citizens of the Free States; but they are tenacious of their rights, as merchants are every where, and would bear the loss of their just dues, together with the falling off of trade, which must follow the sudden annihilation of Southern capital, with a very ill grace. The carriage and piano-forte manufacturers and dealers would have equal cause of complaint. These classes of citizens, with some others, feeling their confidence abused and their interests suffering, would load the South with everlasting reproach; and the Southern character would be liable to suffer more from the charge of defalcation than it now does from that of slaveholding.

But pecuniary embarrasments alone being only a matter of interest against liberty and life, would be an insufficient motive for the continuance of slavery, whoever might be sufferers in consequence of emancipation. There are other reasons, which leave the States no longer the possibility of disencumbering themselves of the institution, without adding to the present misery and sufferings of their colored as well as of their white population; and no State Legislature can be so mad as to attempt an emancipation, under present circumstances, without the aid and co-operation of the General Government. Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee might emancipate themselves by practising a *ruse*, that of removing and selling their able-bodied slaves, and giving freedom to the rest. But it would be better for the Administration to take charge of the whole, and make such disposition of them as would be for their own benefit and for the general peace and comfort of these United States, than that any portion thereof should be driven to so infamous an expedient as the one above named. Yet it has been surmised that this is the purpose, and the object for which so many slaves are annually sold and carried to the more South-Western States, while others are taken by their owners to stock new plantations in Missouri, Arkan-

sas, and Texas; all with the intent of leaving the original States in a condition to abolish slavery. Having traveled much in those States for the last few years, I have seen nothing to warrant me in saying that such is the case. Those States have become poor in consequence of their connection with slavery, and have finally taken to raising slaves for the market, as a remedy against utter destitution; while the dangers to be apprehended from their increasing numbers, and the diminishing means which the soil affords for their support, amount to a strong necessity for their dispersion.

It has not been so much to keep the slave portion of the Union in the political ascendancy, as to furnish markets and a wider field for the slave population, that new slave States have been formed. Young and enterprising men find it to their advantage to migrate, taking with them such negroes as may fall to their share:—now were not the slaves admitted *as slaves* into these States, the young men would not migrate at all. And here they have been inexcusably injudicious, for the admission of *republican* States, in the mild climate of the south-west, should have afforded them an opportunity of making settlements with all their colored laborers as free men, in which case they would have surrounded themselves with friends instead of enemies, and have laid a foundation for prosperity and peace rather than for a new series of desolations and disquiets. But here, again, the slaveholders are reaping the bitter fruits of *driving men as cattle.*

It is the opinion of the abolitionists that the slaves should be set free, at all events; and so they should; but it is desirable that their freedom should be brought about in such a manner as to make their condition better and not worse. Still the cry is, "set them free, at once; and let them go away, or stay where they now are, as they like."

The free negroes and mulattoes, (of which there are several hundred thousand in those parts of the Southern States, where they are permitted to remain) never choose to make excursions, notwithstanding the more than willingness of their governments that they should leave and settle themselves elsewhere.

As an apology for the apparent lack of enterprise on the part of the free blacks, it must be kept in mind that while the migrating Indians have tracts of land assigned them, together with the assistance and protection of the General Government; and that foreign emigrants, who come prepared to buy for themselves, are also protected by the Government, no protection is afforded to the colored man, who, having been kidnapped and brought here, an unwilling slave, should of all men be the first entitled to our consideration and care.

The negroes in the older slave States are now maintained rather

as valuable property than as profitable servants. Were they to be emancipated, not one half of them would find employment where they now are; and should they be inclined to seek their fortunes elsewhere, to what part of the country could they go?—who would receive them? If the John Randolph negroes were not allowed to occupy certain lands, purchased for them in the State of Ohio, but were driven away, at the point of the bayonet, how would it be with others, whom necessity should compel to spread themselves in swarms over the country in search of immediate subsistence? Their present owners, in giving them up, could not have the means of providing for them in their wanderings afterwards. The case of Randolph was a peculiar one. He was wealthy and unembarrassed: had he been involved to half the amount of his estate and the negroes upon it, those poor creatures must have been sold under the hammer, however good his disposition might have been to make them free. We here see that the slave is not independent of the fortunes of his owner. We also learn from the *experience* of those liberated slaves, that the coloured man must not look to the non-slaveholding States for comfortable quarters.

It is certain that in case of emancipation, the negroes of the south, or a part of them must be removed, in order to obtain employment whereby they can live; and the free States would readily discover that they could have no *use* for them, having accustomed themselves to the services of the Irish and Germans, to whom they are partial; and the two classes, foreigners and negroes, do not harmonize in this country. Foreigners leave their tender sympathies for the slave behind them when they cross the Atlantic. Safely landed on our shores, and annointed with the unction of naturalization, they take up the common prejudice against the people of colour, to whom they are a continual source of disquiet and discomfort; although these last are among the most peaceable and inoffensive inhabitants of our towns and cities, where they are not always protected in their rights, nor treated with that consideration which is due to their moral worth.

In a conversation with a southern gentleman on the subject of northern prejudice against color, he maintained that color, in the north, was a greater barrier in the way of equal rights and privileges, than was that of caste in the south; "for," said he, "the latter being a matter of policy might be adjusted. With us, it is the inferior condition of the man, and not the shade of his complexion that debars him from the privileges of citizenship. But in the *free* or *less liberal* States, the objection lies in the hue of the skin, for which there is no remedy; and the bugbear of infancy is not likely to become the associate of manhood."

I remarked, 'your own *free* colored people have no more privi-

leges than ours.' He replied, "among us, the admission of free colored men to the privileges of citizenship, would be incompatible with our present institutions. With you, there is no such necessity as that of depriving the colored portion of your population of rights, which are unhesitatingly granted to the lower orders of Irish and Dutch, their inferiors both in intellect and in morality, as the *European Schools* can testify." "I remember," continued he, "that when I was a student at Harvard University, the sight of a colored man was refreshing to me, and I wanted to shake hands with every one I met; but boy as I was, I foolishly gave way to an appearance of the prejudices of those with whom I was associated; and I can never, until this day, think of it without condemning my own want of independence, for I often passed with scorn, sensible and gentlemanly black fellows, to whom I should have cordially given my hand in any metropolis of the southern States."

We then shifted the subject and he jocosely enquired "if I had yet discovered a retreat for the slaves, in case of a sudden and overwhelming abolition movement?" I replied, 'let them go wherever they will; it is a FREE COUNTRY,—at least the foreigners say so, when they come among us.' "Ah!" said he, "foreigners are received with open arms, but I do verily believe that should our poor, honest, harmless negroes be emancipated, such of them as might have the temerity to seek for shelter or employment on the north of Mason and Dixon's line, would meet with a reception similar to that which befel certain inhabitants of London, who during the plague of 1625, fled to the country for safety, and were met by the country people, who drove them back with pitchforks, firebrands, and billets of wood."

He finally concluded that Texas was about to drop very opportunely into the Union; "for," said he, "it is a growing concern, and will soon extend to the Pacific Ocean." I replied, that 'I had no objection to an addition to the family of States, provided the newcomers brought with them none but republican principles; and that Texas with New Mexico and Upper California in her train, should be particularly welcome, if they came in a just and an honorable manner, and with the intention of planting colonies of free colored people on their western borders.'

The inhabitants of the slave States are great sufferers, not only in their domestic comforts and in their moral trainings, but also in their reputation, which is subjected to great scandal in consequence of the institution of slavery. Their name has become a reproach (in which

ours, with quite as much justice, is beginning to share); their princi; ples of liberty held up to scorn; their morals represented as impure their religion impeached, and their clergy suspected of maintaining infidel principles; while the entire Church of the United States, from its apparent hostility to abolition, is openly avowed to be the "bulwark of slavery." These accusations do not come from an obscure corner, neither are they the invention of enemies in our own country. Whoever is conversant with the European press, will find it teeming with reproach of our national disgrace. Our clergymen, who should be every where representatives of our moral worth, are put to shame, in their visits abroad.

Prejudices are not regulated by a knowledge of facts; and the following curious sample of the notions, even of wise and good men, concerning the state of our religion and morality, will show us that we have become, not only subjects of intense blame, but of strong caricature. It is extracted from a paper written by that great and good man, Thomas Clarkson, shortly before his death, in October last. After dwelling, at some length, on the infidelity of slaveholding, and of the tendency of the American clergy to unbelief, Mr. Clarkson says, "Two or three years ago there were thousands, and even many in the more virtuous Northern States, who would not pay their legal public debts. How much, in these people, must the moral sense have been lowered and debased; not in individuals only, but in multitudes, who could brave the shame of denying their own legal obligations. All Europe came to the knowledge of these transactions, and reprobated them in almost all the coffee-houses on the Continent; so that no people ever stood so low among the civilized nations of the earth; and I believe that if slavery should continue a few years longer, and its genuine offspring, infidelity, accompany it, as it has hitherto invariably done, I doubt whether the American people will not be put down in our maps as a semi-barbarian people! Neither can the evil be corrected, but by the total abolition of slavery. The little religion which there is in America is good, but perhaps no less than one-third of the clergy have caught the contagion of the pro-slavery mania, *and are not abolitionists!* Again, the laity of America, contrary to the Scriptures, have taken upon themselves a domineering despotism over the clergy, so as to have them in complete subjection. Hence the clergy must be silent, if their masters are the friends of slavery."

I see no serious ground for the charge of infidelity preferred against the clergy of the United States, since infidelity is not the fruit of a sentiment, but the sentiment itself. It is therefore but due to them to say, that as far as we can judge from their preaching and conversation, they are orthodox in belief, however heterodox they may be

in the observance of some of the precepts of the gospel. But in the last clause of the above extract there is some truth.

In the Southern States, the institution of slavery imposes silence on the ministers of religion, in regard to its own sinfulness; their situation is therefore rendered peculiarly trying; for they are not the people to rejoice in the weals, and stand aloof from the woes of those who give them their daily bread. They view slavery in its true light, as an institution incompatible with the spirit of the gospel, and contrary to the rights of man; but they are aware of the difficulties, which I have attempted to set forth, in the way of emancipation; and for them to preach abolition to the slaveholder, would be but to say, "Do that which you cannot do!" Yet they are sadly remiss in their duty, as humble followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, in whom should be found neither loftiness nor scorn. Would they but unite in their ministerial capacities, and attempt to bring the slaveholders to a willingness to apply to the general Government for aid, something might be done; and this, as teachers of righteousness and justice, it is their duty to do. Pride makes men unwilling to ask favors; but for the South to bring her case before the Congress of the United States, would not be asking a favor, but claiming a privilege; or, in other words, demanding a right, since the resources of the Government belong as much to them as to the North; and the existence of the evil, which they find it necessary to remove, not being a measure of their own adoption, but of England first, and retained at the beck of the entire American Union. It is therefore but right that the entire Union should lay their forces against it, and exclude it forever from out of the land.

I am grieved to acknowledge that there are some Southern clergymen, who, for reasons unworthy of their calling, defend the institution of slavery; and not having a due sense of the holiness of the sacred Scriptures, endeavour to prove therefrom that slavery is of divine origin, and right in the sight of God. These have brought upon our clergy generally, the discountenance of the entire church abroad. The world is not enough discriminating. It is wrong to condemn a whole class of men, because a few of their number bring odium on the cause, which it is the desire of the main body to cherish in its purity.

Have none of the slaveholding clergy hearts? Do their bowels of compassion never yearn towards their slaves? Do they never indulge in reflections like these?—"Would to Heaven that our brethren of the North could look in upon us as we are; their hearts might then be opened to preach charity, and instead of meditating our exclusion from their pulpits and their communion, they might set their influence at work in such a manner as to bring our cause

before the General Government, in which, alone, lies the remedy for the evils of slavery. How would our hearts rise in the extatic spirit of freedom! The burning sentiments of the Declaration of Independence were icicles compared to the language of our redeemed consciences. We are willing to make whatever sacrifice we are able, but all that we alone can do, would be but to bring heavier distresses upon ourselves and upon our slaves. We have been so long taunted with slaveholding, by the Nor h, that we cannot lay open our minds to them; but would they come forward as friends, as brothers, as countrymen, and say, '*Your cause is that of our common country.—Let us come to the rescue!*'—Oh! what a response would there be from the ONE heart of the South."

The above remarks, in quotation, were made to me, in Georgia, by a clergyman of advanced age, a Doctor of Divinity, and a most devout man. He owned some slaves who came by inheritance and natural increase. It was his earnest desire to make them free, but he had not the means of making the provision for them, which the laws required. He gave them a comfortable home, inflicted no punishment, and admonished them with kindness. His lenity had the usual effect; it filled them with an unconquerable desire for that freedom which owns no vassalage to man. It was in vain that he represented to them his inability to remove them from the State; and of the danger of their being apprehended and sold as vagrants to others less indulgent than himself; they became sullen, neglectful of the comforts of their aged master and mistress; and were often guilty of the rudest insolence.

One Sabbath, I was invited by this good clergyman to dine at his house. His wife was confined at home by indisposition and infirmities; but it seemed she had given orders for a comfortable dinner. The hour had passed, and our host rang the bell:—at last a servant appeared. "Is the dinner ready?" "Yes, massa,—did'nt know you's gwine to bring folks." The countenance of the mistress fell. "I have a good appetite, to-day," said she, "send me a part of whatever you may find on the table." I followed to the dining-room, and lo! before us were some stale potatoes and a watermelon. A look of disappointment was at first visible in that exemplary man, but his manner immediately softened, and he craved a blessing, not only on the humble viands, but on "those unfortunate children of our great common Parent, who were subjected to our authority, and whose eternal welfare would be demanded at our hands."

I have since heard that same pure-minded and truly Christian disciple denounced as a "slaveholding hypocrite."

Again I repeat the mournful truth, that slaveholding of necessity, involves cruelty and oppression. No kindness will be received as

an equivalent for freedom; and these slaveholders, in the maintainance of an institution, which came by inheritance, and seems to be entailed like hereditary madness, are forced to aggravate the crime of depriving men of their liberty, by committing outrages, against which the vengeance of Heaven cannot long be stayed.

And what are the immediate consequences on the minds of the oppressors?—Only such as might be expected; they become hardened without malignity, brutal from necessity, and deaf to the suggestions of mercy, from Avarice.

The Planter does not allow himself to contemplate the sufferings of his slaves, his better nature might prevail. Interest bids him turn aside, and blunts the sting of his conscience, which would otherwise pierce his inmost soul. He looks on his fields of woe, where wretched human beings bend over their toil, their backs, alike, exposed to the scorching sun, and to the scorpion lash of the hireling tormentor; and when the generous spirit, which seems to reside in the heart of the Southerner, rises in behalf of suffering humanity, it is dashed back by the Demon of gain, which stands at the portal; and the unfortunate abettor of an institution repugnant to every principle of Justice and Mercy, turns upon his heel, and looses, as he flies from his fields of woe, the sense of his injustice in calculations of the avails from the labors and the sufferings at his command. He flies from his fields of woe! to the haunts of political strife, and warms his brain with zeal for his country's welfare,—that country which is consigning himself and his posterity to a retribution, which true wisdom should deprecate and turn aside, by doing justice to the injured and appeasing the revengeful.

Lest it should be suspected that this work is intended as an apology for *slaveholding*, it is necessary to reiterate the fact that we cannot separate the interests of the two classes, the slaveholders and the slaves; and that all attempts to injure and to annoy the former, but make the condition of the latter more hopelessly painful. We cannot abolish slavery but by friendly co-operation with the slaveholders, whom we must sustain—not in further practices of cruelty, but in making provision for the well-being of the slaves, and in providing for the safety and comfort of their own families:—otherwise, emancipation can never be accomplished without the shedding of blood. Therefore, while I would desire to relieve the oppressed, I cannot forget the claims of those, who, under sanction of our General Government, and for the apparent benefit of these United States, became their oppressors.—Let all pity the slave, for his woes are past finding out! but let none envy or be unjust to the master, for often, while the bruised flesh is wrapped in peaceful slumber, its owner wakes and groans with contending cares and forebodings of

coming evil.—Let all pity the slave, and let all unite in an effort for his liberation, not in words alone, but with offerings of that lucre a part of which was obtained at the expense of his blood and tears; for not until the whole country shall be willing to say, WE have erred, will he be liberated; and not until then will the cup of iniquity be removed from the lips of the still more unfortunate disposer of his freedom and happiness:—not that we must *instruct the slaveholder in his duty*, he knows it well, and we know ours; we know that on our part a preliminary step must be taken.—The power to save lies in the NORTHERN ARM.—Shall we hesitate, O! my friends?

In a conversation which I had with an eminent Southern Lawyer, in 1842, he cursed the federal compact. "Had our fathers," said he, "believed that we were still to be a slaveholding people, they would have maintained their allegiance to the mother country. But in the hope of becoming a just as well as a free people, they took part in the quarrel of the North and assisted to gain for that portion of the Union an Independence which has raised it to the very acme of prosperity:—but the revolution left us of the South in a worse state than it found us; for while it brought on the necessity of continuing the slave trade, it deprived us of the aid of blessed OLD ENGLAND, who would have relieved us of the burden of slavery, *when she thought fit to condemn it.* Were we, at this moment, subjects of the British Crown, we should be wiping out the stains of slavery,—not at the bidding of the unauthorized people, but with the AID of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT; and that, too, in the full assurance that our characters were not suffering from our connexion with an institution, founded before we were born, and over the existence of which we have never had control. But the free sections of our country, with which it is our misfortune to be connected, after draining us of the profits arising from slave labor, command us to "abolish slavery!" without affording us the means, from our common resources, so to do; and without even looking into our domestic concerns but to find cause of reproach.—And our hatred of the North is insurmountable!" With that he brought his hand, with such force, down upon a centre table, that books, boxes, scent-bottles and fans flew up in the wildest confusion.

After he had become more calm, I said to him, "Surely, your hatred of the North would melt into kindlier feelings, were the cause removed." He had turned his face from me, in the moment of his excitement, and now stood with his head erect and his hands clenched behind his back, but he moved partly round, and without

looking at me, tapped me lovingly on the shoulder, and not another word was said on the subject.—But whose cheek would not, like mine, have felt the unbidden tear?

In the Free States the mercantile interests are paramount to all others, and may be said to dispense benefits to every class of citizens with the exception of the lesser farmers, yet controling the political influence which these possess in common with other free men; so that they, the merchants, are not only able to command the concurrence of the learned professions, but to mould the will of honest yoemanry. This amount of power, far from being claimed on their part, has been conceeded to them by a public whom they have raised to a high state of opulence, respectability, and comfort.

The eager pursuit of wealth, which is but a trait in the character of our mercantile men, is, by too many, supposed to condense all their pecuniary sympathies into the one grand passion,—self emolument. But who can survey the magnificent structures; the institutions of learning, the provisions for the poor, and the liberal support of the gospel throughout the Northern and Middle States, and then say, there is no character in all this! Through the liberality of the merchant and the manufacturer, Enterprise is enabled to carry on its vast operations, Learning to dispense honors, and Charity to sustain the needy.—Are they then culpable because they accumulate wealth in order to be generous.

Those persons, who are immersed in business, or who have retired upon a competence, seldom send their sympathies abroad in search of objects; there being others, whose vocation it is to collect such information as has a bearing upon any important grievance, and present it to the minds of such as have the power, either through their recommendation, their importunities or their wealth, to put the wheel of reform in motion. But when the suggestions for improvement are liable to be received with that kind of uneasiness, which a man feels in the prospect of losing an important resource for gain, and of being called upon for a disbursement to defray the expense of depriving himself of further benefit from that source, it requires a considerable degree of fortitude for those who eat bread from his bounty to make an appeal, even in behalf of suffering humanity, or of national virtue. But the duties connected with christianity forbid the scruples of self-interest when a good work is to be done.

It is known that the abolition of slavery is not generally opposed by our men of wealth, nor by those of political standing and influence; but their lips are sealed by the magnitude of the work, which, with the exception of battle and slaughter, would be quite as arduous

as was the struggle for the National Independence. But the achievement would be far more glorious, being a consummation of the design, with which the revolution was begun; and giving us a right to the title of FREE, which is now only ours by assumption.

The first step towards the *work* of emancipation is free discussion, on the *means* to be employed. It is the necessity of using means, that has chained the tongues of those who should have been the first to speak, whose calling it is to instruct in every good word and work; against whose appeals the avenues to the heart are never closed; for the reason that they do not usually give instruction in the offensive tone of command; but leave it to men to decide, in their own minds, on the fitness of an untried experiment, even where Humanity points the way.

The Abolitionists are said to have erred in presenting a hostile front to the public, thereby bringing indignation, from certain high places, against the cause, and more particularly against themselves.

However violent the Abolitionists may now be, they did not begin in an adverse manner. They sat about a good work, but with views of human sympathy too exalted to bear the test of application. They met with rebuffs and scorn from the profane, who hated them for their benevolent designs, and they looked toward the church for countenance and support. But the clergy from whom the cause would naturally have been expected to derive important aid, and who could have conducted it in a manner to conciliate the North without agravating and wounding the South, believing themselves to be hemmed in by restrictions, which, previous to the abolition movement, had made it dangerous to their interests to condemn popular sins, became timid in matters of reform generally, and especially where their most able supporters were either among the offenders, or liable, from any cause, whatever, to countenance their errors; and their silence on the subject of some secular enormities, made legal because of their tendency to make rich, was regarded as divine permission to continue in certain iniquitous practices, not the least heinous of which was that of manufacturing and vending cheap spirituous liquors, which held out an inducement to the poor to become drunkards from the very facility of obtaining the means to make them so; and it was calculated that the heads of about one thousand families, became beastly inebriates from the effusions of each grand distillery in the United States: or, in other words one man became rich by the process of destroying a thousand others, both body and soul. The clergy did indeed condemn drunkenness from their pulpits, while they felt themselves compelled to receive into their communion them that furnished the enticement. Some few of their number dared openly to rebuke the wealthy rumseller,

and the consequence was that they were discarded forthwith. This matter will not appear extraneous, when it is remembered that the effort at "Temperance Reform" immediately preceded that for the abolition of slavery; and that it was during the first struggle that the clergy learned to avoid popular disscussions, and to be silent on subjects of moral reform. Thus, self-prohibited, they confined their preaching, more than ever, to their creeds, and their exhortations to the minor precepts of the gospel, only alluding to such as were of more extended signification as to things beyond the practical participation of their hearers.

The clergy of the Northern and Middle States, although the best supported, are the least independent of any in Christendom. The early settlers, jealous of controul, required of their pastors a strict conformity to such creeds as they, their dictators, should appoint, and to such morals, and such only, as their standard allowed. It cannot be supposed that the Pilgrim Fathers sat under the ministrations of the gospel for the purpose of being doctrinated;—far from it, they doctrinated their preachers.

Fortunately the inflexible orthodoxy of our fathers imparted stability to the character of the American priesthood, while their requirements of undeviating sobriety and chastity of manners left an impression, which time has not effaced. And be it remembered, to the everlasting honor of the early settlers of New England, that they were too severe upon themselves to make it necessary for them to claim indulgence from their spiritual guides on the score of immorality. It is much to be regretted that their high-toned moral temperament did not come down to the present generation along with the conservative habits, which form so distinguishing a trait in the clerical character.

It is impossible to take a thorough view of the present aspect of the anti-slavery enterprise, without observing, with keen interest, the position of the clergy, who, restrained from any direct participation in political affairs, have, nevertheless, a positive influence on all our domestic relations. But the social eminence, to which education and liberal salaries have raised them, especially in our atlantic cities, has filled them with aristocratic notions, so that they have become effeminate and dainty; and find greater consolations in keeping themselves as patterns of propriety, than could they in coming out as pioneers of reform. Yet the Church is dear to us; and our confidence in the clergy is not to be shaken, without proof of their entire unfitness for their office.—They are but men. Let us speak of their virtues first, and then pass our censure upon their short-comings. There is not on earth a priesthood of morals so unexceptionable, of conversation and deportment so pure, of pastoral

sympathies so continual. They are free in their gifts of charity, and impress on their congregations the duty of constant almsgiving. In the mental improvement of the young they take unbounded interest; and society is largely indebted to their exertions for the progress already made in our literary institutions. In these things, and in more, their examples shine with a living light. But in the cause of the slaves and of the free colored people of our country, their neglect of a duty, so apparent to all the world, shows how hard it is for men, who daily receive the homage of the elite, and command the awe of the vulgar, to maintain a true gospel, simplicity of mind and manner, and an impartial regard for men of all conditions, so that their course may not be marked by a pride and exclusiveness, for which their observance of religious rites, and even their kindest charities cannot atone.

Slavery having been an institution, for a long time approved throughout the country, and never repudiated as a national system, it is not at all marvelous that an otherwise conservative clergy should not be the first to make an attack upon it, but when the cause of a final emancipation began to be agitated in the United States the public mind had been, in some degree prepared, by its own exclusion of slavery, for the event; and the ministers of that gospel, which preaches freedom to the captive, could have entered that field of labor with as little difficulty as they found in establishing the missionary enterprise, or any other for the benefit of the needy or the instruction of the unenlightened; and by this means would have rendered the cause of religion in the South a more essential service than they can now do by a justification of slavery in the persons of the Southern priesthood. Unfortunately, they did not so consider it, but went so far into the extreme of indifference for the colored man's rights as to render it doubtful whether they believed that he did, indeed, possess all the attributes of humanity. Had their disregard of their sable brethren been confined to silence in the cause of emancipation, it could not have escaped the popular censure: but when the fact became known that the well-qualified colored student was not allowed to enter their seminaries of learning; nor the pious clergyman, who had received regular ordination, a seat in their conventions, their general bearing towards the free colored people became a matter of scrutiny, and the result was such as to bring upon them a blaze of wrath from the abolitionists; to which, unhappily, the retort, "fanatic" and "infidel"* was returned, the

* The infidelity of the abolitionists appear to be nothing more than a doubt of the infallibility of the American Church. There are infidels in the country, who endeavor to make common cause with them; but as far as I have been able to discern, the abolitionists, proper, are acuated by truly evangelical motives. If some of them are ultra in their notions of religious rites and ceremonies, they stand on the same ground with the Quakers or Friends.

clergy conceding so far as to avow anti-slavery principles, yet maintaining a proslavery attitude,—which doubtless was meant as a manifestation of their sympathy with their ministerial brethern of the South, rather than as fellowship with the unchristian institution of slavery itself.

Anti-slavery has now become a popular principle; there is no resisting against it. The reaction in favor of the bondman is becoming so strong, that there is danger of *others* than slaveholders falling beneath its overwhelming force. But it does not follow that the emancipation of the slave will be the result of any violent measures, for such measures would rather tend to exterminate than to make him free. Our peculiar situation in having the enemy even at our own doors, and not on some "*lone isle of the ocean*," makes it doubly necessary that harmony should prevail in measures providing for the safety of the Republic. There is now a time for all, who possess a peace-making influence to engage in a work, which is already in the full tide of operation, and must go on; but which needs the spirit of unamimity and forbearance, to prevent those unhappy collisions, which sometimes accompany the most salutary reforms. People are becoming willing listeners to arguments in favor of the bondman. They are ready to be persuaded that they have something to do for his liberation; but those who have the subject most at heart, differ in their views of expediency, and cannot be reconciled to each other without that kind of mediation which brings strength to the cause and points ont an unerring course to the attainment of the object. In the cause of emancipation a general interest must be awakened and the general views harmonized; for without concord there can be no profitable deliberation: and who should be so well qualified to stir up a spirit of brotherly love as the ministers of the gospel? They preach peace with a good effect, for they draw their erring flocks into their confidence, and while they instruct they can also unite them.

To the philanthropic zeal and self-sacrificing perseverance of the abolitionists is due, not only the general interest which is being manifested in the cause of emancipation, but also the continued tranquility of the slave portion of the country. The Southern slaves learned from the event of the American Revolution that LIBERTY was an "inalienable RIGHT;" they also learned, from the tregedy of St. Domingo that there was a way of *obtaining* that RIGHT; but being a timid people, and never ferocious, except from despair, they have, from time to time, listened to intimations of freedom, through the efforts of the Northern Abolitionists. This, and this alone, has quieted

their minds, and cheered them on in the hope of a bloodless emancipation.

I have conversed with slave preachers, who have candidly owned to me, that they found no means so effectual in reconciling the slaves to a longer endurance of their sufferings, as the holding out to them the *certainty* of emancipation by the General Government through the influence of the abolitionists. I have conversed with some of the most ignorant and degraded of their class, and found them impressed with the same notion, which I always endeavored to strengthen; and my assurances never failed to be received with a degree of thankfulness, which made it safe for me to recommend to them obedience to their masters, and patience under their trials. But were the hopes of a final liberation to be destroyed—*and I asked the question once*, they would become demons instead of men. When I asked the slave what he would do, were there no hope of freedom left? he reared up before me in a manner that made me close my eyes, as from a terrible apparition.

The spirit of vengeance manifested by the slaveholders toward the abolitionists, would appear both unjust and injudicious were it not that the latter are pursuing their measures of creating universal excitement against slavery, without touching upon the expediency of using any measure for its removal, except that of moral suasion, or coercion; the first of which is viewed by the South as an insult, the second as a crime. I do verily believe that had a feasible way of emancipation been introduced at an early period of the anti-slavery movement, it would, 'ere this day, have become a matter of legislative consideration, attended, perhaps, with a saving, on the part of Government, sufficient to have made a considerable progress in the work.

Though a constant reader of the Abolition Journals, I have very little personal acquaintance with those who conduct them; and never had conversation on the subject with but one, a prominent leader in the cause. I suggested to him the necessity of great pecuniary sacrifice to the country. His reply, in substance, was, "That it must come to this, at last; but that such a suggestion, until the public mind was sufficiently prepared to meet it, would act as a barrier to all further efforts in the cause, and bring upon the abolitionists the charge of an attempt to render the North more subservient to the interests of the South than it now is." Such might be the first impulsive feeling, and the sooner it is past, the sooner will REASON enter the lists against slavery. The abolitionists have doubtless acted from the best of motives; yet their course may have been marked by an erring judgment;—and they may, indeed, as a body, be unwilling that any pecuniary assistance should be rendered

to the slaveholding States in furtherance of the grand consummation, to which every friend of the human species must look forward with a desire that would hardly count the cost.

The great amount of talent and good sense to be found in the abolition ranks should lead us to suppose that they are aware of all that is necessary to be done; and if their zeal is acuated by pity for the slave (and there is no reason why we should think otherwise,) they will oppose no reasonable sacrifice for his liberation. They will be willing to forego the claims of justice (which demands that a compensation should be made by the master to the slave for past services,) and assist the former in making him the only reparation now in his power,—that of making him a free man. Since the past cannot be recalled, it will be merciful to relieve him for the future, and if this can only be done by relieving the owner, who that truly feels for his unhappy condition would not be willing so to do? Does any one dissent?—then he is an enemy to the slaveholder, but NOT a friend to the slave; and his pretensions to philanthropy should, at once, be discountenanced.

My Southern friends will doubtless imagine that in this brief stricture on abolitionism, I should have given it a word of condemnation concerning the practice of taking away their slaves by stealth, and also for secreting and protecting fugitives from "*service or labor*," in violation of a provision of the Constitution in favor of "*the party to whom such service or labor may be due.*" My sense of the duty I owe to God and to my fellow-creatures, leads me rather to condemn an unjust law, than a humane practice in violation thereof; and I must confess that I do not think it sinful to entice away any portion of the human family from the house of bondage and death; yet in all my acquaintance with the slaves, I have endeavored to dissuade them from attempts to escape; knowing the terrible punishment that awaits them, when unfortunately they are retaken, and from seeing the additional severity practised upon those who never made the like attempt. But should a flying fugitive ask my protection, I would defend him to the last extremity. So terrible is Southern slavery in its ordinary aspect, that I would hold my life cheap, compared with the guilt of any voluntary participation in its support. But should I, knowing as I do the consequences, carry or send back to that land of oppression, the poor trembling creature who sought my aid; or did I point out to his pursuers the place where the panting, shrinking *thing* had hoped for concealment, I should never more dare to raise a prayer to God,—never more look Heaven in the face. Of all other sins I might repent and be forgiven, but of this I could not repent, for the commission of the deed

would be proof that I had not capacity for grace sufficient to begin the work of repentance.

The entire control which the Southern confederacy has obtained over the General Government, certainly gives some cause of alarm; especially now that it has involved us in a war with an unoffending sister republic. I find it difficult to determine whether this aggression on Mexico is popular or otherwise in the Free States, since those who are foremost to condemn the policy which dictated it, are nothing loath to aid in its prosecution; and to recommend a campaign in Mexico as a test of true patriotism; while the minds of the victims, enlisting for the 'service,' are bewildered with visions from the inner temples of the Mexican churches; and while huddled in their barracks, their flesh ripening for the miasma and the vulture, golden virgins, silver apostles, and jewelled saints, are prancing through their midnight dreams.

The South boast that they have one "grand point of union," viz, SLAVERY. Is it possible that the North are rallying round the same standard? If so, their labour will be in vain, for slavery is becoming the *ignus fatuus* of the North, as it has long been the *incubus* of the South. Is this war carried into Mexico for the sole purpose of extending the area of slavery?—I wish not!

For many years the Southern States have been tormented with the desire of an armed force in the vicinity of New Orleans, a spot so full of the elements of discord as to render precaution necessary for the protection of a *portion* of the inhabitants. It is also a most convenient place of rendezvous, on account of the facility with which aid, when required, can be sent from thence into every district of slavery. The desire is now gratified. If Mexico should *happen* to be "annexed," no harm will be done; some force will be required to reconcile her to our *free* institutions. But if she should sue for peace, it must be granted on such terms as will insure the necessity of keeping troops in readiness to protect Texas from a fearful combination of the treacherous Mexicans, the revengeful Negroes, and the unsubdued Indians.

A few years ago a suggestion was made of the expediency of erecting forts and a line of iron steamboats from Pittsburg to New Orleans, in order to facilitate the movements required by the last clause of Section IV, Article IV, of the Constitution. It was little thought when that proposition was so decidedly spurned, that a more efficient force would so soon congregate within hailing distance of New Orleans.

If our country is desirous of practising economy, and of avoiding

an unnecessary waste of human life, it will, at once, take measures for the abolition of slavery. The millions that have already been spent (and they are but a tithe to that which is to follow,) in support of the institution, should have been used for emancipation purposes. But the opportunities that are past, *are gone*, and reproach is useless. There is still a way to correct the evil, and the sooner the work begins, the less will be the sacrifice required for its consummation. In the present crisis, the pro-slavery spirit, already crest-fallen, would yield to the shock of a demand upon the Government for the extirpation of slavery. A remedy proposed for the evil would be a relief to the public mind, which is now a prey to a feverish and unhealthy excitement. I have, of late, conversed with men of influence and sound judgment, among whom are some of our wealthiest merchants, men to whom the abolition movements have ever been obnoxious, yet they each, and every one expressed a willingness, and an ardent desire for a general emancipation, let the cost be never so great. Our statesmen are anti-slavery from principle, although their inaction in the cause of emancipation has been the cause of unbounded censure, under which it has been gratifying to notice that they have preserved the same dignified and courteous demeanor that has marked their course when reviled and contemned by the slaveholders themselves; and the good effect of their example is now apparent in the softened tone of the respectable journals towards the abolitionists.

The current which has set in from the North, stimulated by humanity, national pride, and the fearful aspect of our Governmental concerns, is becoming irresistible. But what does tho North intend to do?—create a civil war? I must confess I should have some fears, were it not that the precious relics of Mexico have stronger attractions for the war spirit, than have the cries and groans of two or three millions of slaves.

But the delusion cannot last; and whatever may be the result of the struggle with Mexico, the time for the liberation or the extirpation of the slaves is not far distant. The former can only be accomplished by a more amicable intercourse between the Free and the Slave States; while the latter, through the aid of the naval and military forces in the neighborhood, must inevitably follow a manful attempt at self-emancipation; and thus add to our already oppressive load of guilt concerning them. What kind of Government is this, that makes no effort to heal the dissensions in its family of States, where one portion arrays itself against the other and bandies words that sting like an adder, as though there were no common head to settle the matter of difference; and where the accused, but scarcely more culpable party conceals its cares in its own bosom, as if it had

nothing to expect from an appeal to that head? Verily, a household governed in this manner would be shunned by its neighbors.

Will not the General Government of our beloved country remove the cause of our difficulties by giving liberty to the slaves, whose cries to Heaven for mercy are being answered by judgments on us, their oppressors? Will it not, at this time, when the nations of the earth are casting about for subjects of reform, will it not be foremost in reforming itself? But if a good name be of no value, then for the sake of suffering humanity, for the honoring of the religion we profess, and for the safety of the republic, which, with all its sins, we must cherish and sustain, let that be done which is just in the sight of God, and equitable at the bar of the human conscience. Let the North take the South by the hand, and say, *together we have sinned, together let us put away the iniquity, that we may hereafter have confidence in each other's intentions, and an interest in each other's welfare. Let the "Union," which binds us together, be no longer a tie of discord, but a bond of love and a motive of peace.*

When I contemplate our Congress engaged in devising means for the abolition of slavery. I feel bewildered under a sense of the many difficulties that must, unavoidably, present themselves. But that same Power that enabled our sires to throw off the yoke of a foreign country will assist us in breaking the chains, which have manacled and disgraced our guardian, Freedom, in this.——Then will she rise in majestic splendor, unfurling a banner, waving with resplendent light, from the margin of the St. John's to the banks of the Rio Grande.

FINIS.